

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T STATE 074599

NODIS
WHITEHOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF SOVIET NON-PAPER ON ARAFAT VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE COMPLETE TEXT OF A NON-PAPER GIVEN
TO MARSHALL SHULMAN BY SOVIET MINISTER COUNSELOR BESSMER-
TNYKH ON MARCH 18, 1978.

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2. BEGIN TEXT: IN CONVERSATIONS WITH SOVIET LEADERS, ARAFAT
NOTED, IN ASSESSING THE PRESENT COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, THAT THE SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT
AND ISRAEL HAVE IN FACT CANCELLED THE POSITIVE MOVEMENT
TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, MADE IN THE
JOINT SOVIET-US STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 1, 1977. IN THIS
CONNECTION, HE INDICATED THAT THE PLO WAS AMONG THE FIRST

TO OFFICIALLY SUPPORT THIS STATEMENT AS AN APPROPRIATE BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. HE CONDEMNED THE SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS, SINCE THEY ARE LEADING TO PROLONGING THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND CANNOT RESOLVE THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS UNDERLYING THAT CRISIS--LIBERATION OF THE ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED AND ILLEGALLY HELD BY ISRAEL AND ENSURING THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE.

ARAFAT EMPHASIZED THAT PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE POPULATION OF

THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN RIVER AND THE GAZA STRIP TOOK AN EXTREMELY NEGATIVE VIEW OF SADAT'S TRIP TO ISRAEL AND SUPPORTS THE PLO AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THE ATTEMPTS OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN "PUPPET" ON THE WEST BANK OF THE JORDAN RIVER IN OPPOSITION TO THE PLO MET WITH NO SUCCESS.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO TAKES A NEGATIVE VIEW OF THE EFFORTS CURRENTLY BEING UNDERTAKEN, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO WORK OUT A SO-CALLED "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES" FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, INASMUCH AS IT CAN ONLY BE A SCREEN FOR ANOTHER SEPARATE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI DEAL. NOR DOES THE PLO LEADERSHIP APPROVE OF THE ATTEMPTS TO REVIVE THE IDEA OF HOLDING SOME SORT OF PRELIMINARY MEETING UNDER UN AUSPICES FOR THE ALLEGED
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PURPOSE OF PREPARING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATIONS ARAFAT CONFIRMED THE PLO'S READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN REACHING A COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, IF IT IS BROUGHT BACK INTO THE CHANNEL OF COLLECTIVE EFFORTS, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO, OF COURSE, AND WITH CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS REJECTION OF SEPARATE DEALS.

FOR OUR PART, IN THE CONVERSATIONS WITH ARAFAT WE PURSUED A POLICY, OF WHICH THE US SIDE IS WELL AWARE, AIMED AT REACHING A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT WHICH MUST PROVIDE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED IN 1967, ENSURING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR OWN STATE, AND ENSURING THE RIGHT OF ALL THE STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN DRAWN INTO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE AND SECURITY. WE CONFIRMED THAT THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO ADVOCATE CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT SUCH A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IS DISCUSSED AT THAT CONFERENCE WITH FULL PARTICIPATION

OF THE PLO, AND WHICH WOULD NOT PERMIT THE CONFERENCE TO
BE TURNED INTO A SCREEN FOR SEPARATE DEALS. END TEXT. VANCE

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